

AMERICA

Morgenthau's Plan Analyzed

FRIEDRICH BAERWALD

The Work of FEPC

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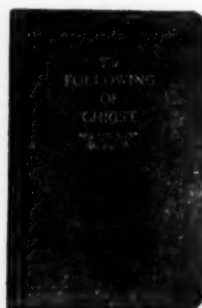
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PHILIP S. MOORE

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AMERICA PRESS PUBLICATIONS

COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Labor's Dirty Wash. In any large group of people you are certain to find some misfits—weak characters, vicious characters, overly ambitious and mercenary characters. Only the naive or the hypocritical are scandalized, therefore, over the crooks, both ideological and financial, in the American labor movement. In organized labor there are about 14 or 15 million men and women, and it would be incredible if there were not some petty dictators and racketeers and revolutionists among them. The fact, however, that human nature is human nature does not excuse responsible labor leaders from the duty of keeping the unions as clean as possible. If they are unwilling to do this as a matter of principle, they ought at least to be moved to action by motives of self-interest. A few more strikes, for instance, like the one on the New York docks may be all that is needed to spur an unfriendly Congress to some really repressive legislation. For the past three weeks the greatest port in the world has been tied up by a purely intra-union fight. The public has been regaled with charges of racketeering, dictatorship, racial discrimination, Communist intrigue. It has heard the AFL and CIO challenging one another to a knock-down fight to the finish. Along the North and East Rivers, on the docks of Jersey and Staten Island the dirty wash of the waterfront unions has been on sordid display for all to see. For the rank and file of the International Longshoremen's Association we have the deepest sympathy. They need a good union, a strong and democratic union. It is doubtful whether that is the kind of union they have today.

Strikes Against Consumers. If you cannot buy a radio or a refrigerator or an automobile before Christmas, don't be in a rush to place all the blame on striking workers. In a number of cases manufacturers are in no breathless hurry to meet the demands of hungry consumers. Some of them figure they have already made all the money they can possibly make this year. If they make any more, the Government will take it in excess profits taxes. This appears to be the real reason behind the operators' refusal to meet the AFL lumber workers half way in the big strike in the Pacific Northwest. According to the employers' way of thinking, they will never be in a better position than they are right now to meet the union in a showdown fight. Other business interests are determined to hold their products off the market

until OPA loosens up on prices. In its October 13 issue, *Business Week* reports that price officials are privately accusing the entire radio receiver industry—set manufacturers, cabinet makers, parts makers—"of having gone on a production strike in an effort to force price concessions." One company in the Middle West has admittedly put 10,000 washing machines in storage and intends to keep them there until OPA removes price ceilings. And this does not appear to be an isolated example. If the daily press really wants to do an impartial job on obstacles to reconversion, let it take a good look at business strikes against consumers.

Education in the G.I. Bill. For quite some time it has been evident that the so-called G.I. Bill of Rights is far from being a perfect piece of legislation. The intent of the bill—to assist the veteran to resume his position in civilian life—is beyond criticism. But to achieve this intent, as far as the educational provisions of the Bill are concerned, some amendments are needed. These amendments should be of two kinds: those which would liberalize benefits granted to veterans for

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education and those which would provide against foreseeable abuses. Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, speaking for the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, recently offered excellent suggestions on both heads. First, he noted that veterans who were more than 25 years old when they entered the service are practically excluded from educational benefits. If it can be established that any considerable number in this age group wish to pursue further studies in school, the G.I. Bill should be amended so as to grant them this opportunity. A second amendment should provide a more liberal subsistence allowance for veterans with children. The present subsistence rate of \$75 a month for veterans with a dependent or dependents is insufficient. More equitable would be an additional grant for each child. On the other hand, with these liberalizing amendments should go specific safeguards against exploitation of the veteran and the Government by irresponsible educational institutions. Any institution, for example, that seeks to charge more than \$500 for a period of less than 30 weeks should come under the scrutiny of the Veterans' Administration.

Pacific Unilateralism. That claims to exclusive control of the Pacific are untenable in the light of our own protests in the Balkans was the chief admission in the proposal of the United States for the establishment of a Nine-Power Allied Advisory Commission on Japan. While obviously designed to head off Russian demands for a full Allied Control Commission, the proposal is a delayed recognition that Pacific unilateralism is a dangerous precedent. Recent statements by American leaders on permanent possession of Japanese island bases have been tempered with caution. Former precipitate demands for exclusive control of strategic islands in the Pacific (despite the clear language of the Cairo Declaration renouncing ambition for outlying Japanese islands, which include Iwo Jima and Okinawa) have been cooled by inevitable counter-demands of the Soviet Union at Potsdam for possession of bases in the Spitzbergen Archipelago. The Russians have contended that, as long as Britain and America continue to occupy Greenland and Iceland, they should not oppose Russian claims in the Arctic for like security needs. Meanwhile criticism of American imperialism and unilateralism has been voiced in London by the *New Statesman and Nation*, which declared: "Russia is not the only Power which regards America's seizure of strategic islands and her policy in Japan as the creation of a vast area of exclusive military aggran-

dizement." Fortunately America's policy is still fluid. That no formal claims for the Japanese outlying islands have yet been registered gives this country a diplomatic advantage for bargaining purposes which a premature hardening of our position would have prevented.

Wall Street and Inflation. A year ago the financial prophets were confidently predicting that the coming of peace would put a damper on the "bull market" in Wall Street. They were, of course, hopelessly wrong. Even the unexpected end of the Japanese War and the wholesale cancellation of war contracts have failed to stop the steady rise in stock prices. This is a phenomenon that deserves more than passing attention. In the face of present uncertainties there must be some very good reasons why investors feel so much confidence in the immediate future. The fact that industrial reconversion has gone ahead much more quickly than anyone expected may have some effect on the financial climate. It is probable, also, that investors are banking heavily on the huge backlog of wartime savings. The certainty of some reduction in corporation taxes tends likewise to bolster speculative spirits. But these reasons, even when taken collectively, hardly account for the very bullish atmosphere in Wall Street. Can it be that the wise money is convinced that price controls are about finished and that the Administration is resigned to a steady, inflationary rise in prices? Certainly the statement several weeks ago of Secretary of Commerce Wallace, that wages ought to be increased fifteen or twenty per cent and prices raised to help industry meet the added costs, seems to indicate a shift in Administration thinking. If this is not so, if President Truman is still determined to keep the lid on, as we hope he is, it is high time that he speak out unequivocally and give OPA Administrator Bowles all the support in his power.

Old Age Security. Retired at the age of seventy by a large corporation in whose service she had spent twenty-six years of her life, a woman recently applied for admission to a private home for the aged. Without other means of support, she frankly admitted that her overall pension, including social security, would amount to thirty dollars a month. On this she evidently could not live without recourse to charity. That her case is not isolated is clear from the lot of the many aged and widows who have no relatives to care for them. Some indication of their numbers is given in the Federal Social Security report for last January. In that month 1.1 million persons

were granted \$20.9 million in old age and survivors' insurance. Simple arithmetic shows that the average benefit per person was less than \$20 per month. Granting that all the 1.1 million persons, and the many others not included in that number, are not so unfortunate as to be utterly alone, their lot is far from rosy. That these people may be given the treatment human beings deserve in old age and dependency, besides increased old age and survivors insurance, there are only three ways open:

- 1) All employers pay not only a living but a saving wage so workers can provide for themselves when no longer able to work.
- 2) All employers adopt pension and retirement systems for all employees.
- 3) Government funds for general assistance be greatly increased and private charity funds be vastly augmented.

The feasibility of these solutions we leave to the imagination of the reader. One thing is certain—the argument that increased social security is impossible because of the cost is but a means of clouding the issue. The real question is: Can a more equitable distribution of wealth be achieved without further government compulsion?

Argentine Tragi-Comedy. What is happening in Argentina resembles more a comic opera than a struggle for power in a twentieth-century state. As we reported last week, an Army group ousted Colonel Perón and, in cooperation with the Navy, assumed control of the Government. For a few days, only one change occurred in the Cabinet, General Eduardo Avalos, leader of the coup, taking the place of the deposed Perón. It became evident immediately that the Avalos group had no clear idea of what to do with their new-found power. After a few confused days, the old Cabinet, except for President Edelmiro Farrell, resigned *en bloc*, and for a few more days General Avalos and Vice Admiral Hector Vernengo Lima ruled the country as a two-man government. This ridiculous situation changed dramatically on October 17 when Colonel Perón, following a demonstration by Government-sponsored labor unions, reappeared and ousted the ousters. At the present moment the audience is just as confused as the *dramatis personae* seems to be. The prompter has disappeared and no one remembers the lines. As we ponder sadly on the depths to which a great nation has descended, we recall the sad passage in *Quadragesimo Anno* where Pius XI deplores the neglect, even by Catholics, of Pope Leo's *Rerum Novarum*. What a change a few strong blasts of Catholic social teaching would

make in the oppressive atmosphere of Buenos Aires.

Cuba Still Dissents. Echoes of the great debate at San Francisco over the veto were wafted out of the Caribbean recently when the Cuban Senate ratified the United Nations Charter. The Cubans did not forget that they and the Colombians were the only delegations at UNCIO which held out to the bitter end against the veto prerogatives of the Big Five in the Security Council. At Havana the Senate has approved the Charter as a whole, by a vote of 34 to 2. But while so doing it repeated its opposition to the Yalta formula and hoped for its eventual repeal. At the debates in the Cuban Senate it was recalled that when the veto formula finally came to a showdown vote in Committee on June 13 it was approved by a count of 30 to 2, Cuba and Colombia being the two die-hards. But these two were only the visible spearhead of much more formidable opposition. Heavy abstentions highlighted the balloting on that occasion in San Francisco. Fifteen of the delegations said they could not be asked to approve what they did not believe in. Among those abstaining were many of the so-called middle Powers: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Egypt, Iran, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Uruguay. Although the Australians, under Herbert Vere Evatt, had led the debates against the veto, it was left to the little states to the South of us to carry the battle to the very end. Cuba still dissents and thereby reminds us of the great struggle of the future for which the stage was set at San Francisco.

Discrimination. The spectacle of the Daughters of the American Revolution renting their semi-public, tax-exempt Constitution Hall to "white artists only" reveals the depths of inconsistency to which race discrimination can descend. The ancestors of the good ladies fought and died to rid themselves of the inequalities and injustices of a colonial system. The Daughters have apparently decided that the rights and dignity of man are no longer of importance, now that they themselves are not the underdogs. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—after which the precious Hall is named—give ample testimony to American belief that human worth and dignity spring from something deeper than the color of one's skin. The more thoughtful part of the citizenry reacted unfavorably to the most recent episode and saw in the specious justification on grounds of Washington (D. C.) practice merely an admission that the DAR type of bigotry is unfortunately not unique. That it should be prev-

alent in the nation's capital is indeed regrettable. That it is not confined there is certain. Rumors are heard at times that such discrimination is found even in religious organizations which proclaim belief in a Saviour Who died for all men without distinction of race, color or nation. Such is the inconsistency of the amateur devotees of the exploded cult of race. Theoretically they admit the principle of human dignity. In practice they prevent its application by all sorts of specious reasonings which point to only one conclusion—that when a man is himself on top he tends to forget the other fellow's rights and grievances.

Negro Education. Selective Service findings on educational standards reveal significant facts about opportunities afforded Negroes. Results of tests show conclusively that: 1) Illiteracy is much higher in the South than in other parts of the country; 2) Negroes, long disadvantaged in educational facilities and services, showed a much higher relative amount of illiteracy in sections where separate schools prevailed than in other sections. During the period from December 7, 1941 to December 5, 1942, it was found that 32 per cent of the 744,000 physically fit registrants without dependents, 18 to 38 years of age, who had less than five years of schooling, were Negroes. A report of the Director of Selective Service states:

The high rate for educational deficiency remains one of the unsolved problems among Negro registrants. The four months study made during the summer and early fall of 1941 indicated that the rejection rate among Negroes was five times that among white registrants. In the section of the country where the largest number of illiterates is found, educational systems for whites and Negroes are separate.

To appreciate these findings it should be remembered that one out of every ten Americans is a Negro and that 77 per cent of our Negro population resides in the South. In eleven States south of the Mason-Dixon line the average public-school expenditure per white pupil during 1941-42 school year was \$68.04. The average per Negro pupil was \$26.59. A survey of non-State schools, were it made, would reveal similar inequality. The

cultural, economic and social development of Negroes—as well as their religious welfare—is hampered by such discrimination.

JOC Survival. Conceived by Canon Cardyn while in German imprisonment through 1914-18, *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chretienne* has proved its inherent vitality by surviving the persecution and trial of World War II. Outlawed by the occupying Power, it went underground only to be followed by spies and the police. Leaders were imprisoned and war scattered members right and left. Concerted action was difficult, yet meetings, publications and the apostolate continued. The twentieth anniversary of the organization was marked by a Congress held in Brussels at the end of August. The vitality of JOC is a challenge to the Christian world. Like all bona fide forms of Catholic Action, the movement recognizes that the social order of today needs a more profound reform than can be achieved by political action and legislative measures. The thinking of all classes and persons in society must be penetrated by Christian principles of justice and charity. This penetration will never be effected except through an informed, spiritually alert and organized lay apostolate reaching into the very corners of shop, farm and marketplace. The apostles of each group, as Pius XI said, must be members of the group. Otherwise they cannot fully understand their problems or win their confidence. Canon Cardyn's organization has done just that for a very important class of society—the workers. In appraising the achievement of JOC, we must remember that Pope Pius XII has called the working class the one on whose attitude toward the Faith depends "the extent to which the society of tomorrow will be Christian."

"Vaya Usted Con Dios." This is AMERICA's farewell to Father John P. Delaney as, with his fourteen companions, he sails for the Philippines. Father Delaney, remembering his Irish forebears, would correctly translate it: "God be with you." He was in the Islands as a young teacher, and left part of his heart there. AMERICA readers will be consoled to know that he plans to resume writing the *Word* as soon as he gets settled. Though life in the war-wrecked Philippines will doubtless be grim, yet the missionary has the habit of taking grimness in his stride and even of coaxing a smile from it. Father Delaney and his fellow-missionaries are facing a tremendous task—rebuilding the Philippines missions, literally, at times, from the ground up. AMERICA and its readers wish them God's blessing on their work.

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WASHINGTON FRONT

Among Washington officials there has arisen in recent days a genuine case of conscientious scruples which is likely to have a deciding influence on our foreign policy from here on out. This has been especially noticeable since the return of Secretary Byrnes from London, and also since the return of the hundred or so of Senators and Congressmen who have at one time or another visited Europe since V-E Day.

The basis of this remorse can roughly be stated as this: it arises from the unspeakable horrors that have been perpetrated in Europe as a result of political settlements which we have approved or at least tolerated.

Some of the horrors that are being related: the forcible return by American soldiers of thousands of refugees to almost certain death or slavery in lands controlled by the Russians; the open sovietization of Poland, and the "liquidation" of every potential anti-Soviet leader who can be found; the nameless terrors that have been visited on the people of Lithuania, whose annexation by Russia we condoned; the brutal and ruthless expulsion by formerly democratic Czechoslovakia of millions of Sudeten Germans, including even anti-Nazis, and the humiliating enslavement of the rest; the rape by Soviet soldiery of over 100,000 women in Hungary, including many nuns; the same thing in Eastern Germany, as testified by the German Bishops at Fulda; the theft of UNRRA supplies in Yugoslavia, Dalmatia and Poland, and their diversion to the serving of political purposes.

Add to this: our conniving in the stripping by Russia of industrial machinery in Central Europe; our favoritism towards Communist officials in Italy and Bavaria; our weak policy towards Russia in Korea and Manchuria, which, it is said, the Chinese will find stripped of everything that will be of value for the reconstruction of their country.

But the tide is turning. Witness our refusal to share the atomic-bomb secret with "other countries," that is, with Russia; the War Department's unprecedented release of General Eisenhower's statement that a free election in Berlin would not support "the present Communist party's dominance" in that city; our coldness toward Russia's demand for a loan; General Marshall's stern reminder that we must still keep ourselves armed; our decision to keep Russia "in the doghouse" for a while. Together, these testify to a significant change in the Washington atmosphere.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

His Eminence Joseph Cardinal MacRory, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, who died on October 13 at the age of 84, had just celebrated the sixtieth jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood. Ordained in 1885, he was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor in 1915, transferred to the Archbishopric of Armagh in 1928 and created Cardinal the following year. He was a staunch defender of Poland and vigorous critic of the partition of Ireland and of the injustices inflicted upon the Catholics of Northern Ireland.

► The University of Notre Dame has received a gift of a million dollars from Peter C. Reilly, of Indianapolis, president of the Reilly Tar and Chemical Corporation. The income from this gift, the largest single benefaction in the history of Notre Dame, is to be devoted exclusively to fellowships and lectureships in the fields of chemistry and chemical engineering.

► In a national broadcast on behalf of Mission Sunday, October 21, the Most Rev. William A. Griffin, Bishop of Trenton, called upon American Catholics to imitate the generosity of American troops, who have viewed personally the work of missionaries in distant lands. "American progress," he said, "was aided greatly by Catholic missionaries who came to this country in colonial days, and the time now has come when the nation should repay this debt by aiding in the spread of Christianity in other lands."

► Casualties in the Army Chaplain Corps up to August 31 totalled 397: 76 killed in action, 62 non-battle deaths, 216 wounded in action, 11 detained by the enemy and status undetermined, 28 released from enemy prison camps and 4 missing. In the line of duty, 1,038 Chaplains were awarded 1,326 decorations, 15 of which were from foreign governments.

► At the recent celebration of the U. S. Naval Academy's centenary, a Pontifical Military Mass of thanksgiving was offered in the Naval Academy Chapel by the Most Rev. James E. Kearney, Bishop of Rochester. The Mass was attended by the Superintendent of the Academy and his staff, by the Governor of Maryland, the Catholic midshipmen and officers and citizens of Annapolis.

► The editors of *Catholic Digest* are putting on the market a magazine for 'teen-age Catholics—*Catholic Youth*. It aims to stimulate creative activities, to link school activities to the problems of Christian living, to aid youth to think with the Church and to encourage them to put militant Catholicity into action.

A. P. F.

Morgenthau's Plan Analyzed

FRIEDRICH BAERWALD

When the author of a political treatise can claim with great confidence, as Mr. Morgenthau does, that the basic principles expounded in his book (*Germany is Our Problem*) represent the official position of the United States government and that they are embodied in so momentous a document as the Potsdam Declarations of the Big Three, a thorough analysis of the main thesis of such a work becomes imperative. I shall, therefore, discuss the basic aspects of the Morgenthau plan, its relation to the totality of decisions on Germany reached at Potsdam and the implications of the situation created by that conference and subsequent events.

The program for Germany which is reprinted in photostat in Morgenthau's book was first discussed at the Quebec conference in September, 1944. Although marked 'top secret' it soon leaked out and was received with wide disapproval and consternation in this country and Great Britain. Some critics went so far as to charge that it was apt to prolong the war by telling the Germans that they had nothing to hope for even after the collapse of Hitlerism. With this specific criticism I disagree. The Nazi gang was determined to fight it out to the last regardless of any plan for Germany evolved by the United Nations. What is more important, however, is the fact that soon after the Morgenthau plan became known the impression was carefully being created that the whole scheme had been dropped. This was certainly an astute way to silence critics. But now that this plan has been largely incorporated into the Big Three plan for Germany a critical analysis must be made. This country wants a peace based on sound foundations. Such an objective can never be reached by an attempt to enforce unworkable social and economic schemes.

The Morgenthau plan is very simple. Asserting that modern war can be waged only by nations equipped with heavy industry and implying that threats of war even in the future can emanate from one country only, Germany, the author advocates that all these industries, especially in the metallurgical, chemical and electrical field be removed from that country. In addition to that he wants Germany divided into a Northern and a Southern federation of states. Lastly he plans the internationalization of the huge Ruhr industrial district.

Let us examine this part of the plan first. Not

content with cutting the Ruhr industries out of the economic body of which they are an integral part, Morgenthau demands on page 23 that all the inhabitants of the vast area should be forcibly expelled. This would mean at least the removal of six million people from their homes and work places. They are to be replaced by French, Belgian, Dutch and other workers. Let us discuss this scheme without emotion. In the clear light of cold facts it is fantastic for its lack of information. Does Mr. Morgenthau not know that the French and the Belgians have hardly enough manpower to run and develop their own industries? Is it unknown to him that huge masses of Polish and Italian workers were needed even before the war to fill the manpower requirements of France? The only surplus in Holland is of farmers. Has Mr. Morgenthau ever tried successfully to persuade sons of prosperous farmers like the Dutch to work in coal mines? Does he want to employ force to make them work there? Polish workers will not be available either. It is true that, especially before 1914, Poles migrated to Western Europe to work in industry. But now that Poland is to take huge parts of Eastern Germany with cities and villages depopulated by the ruthless expulsion of millions of people whose ancestors have lived there for centuries, no Poles or other Slav nationalities will be able to take the place of the German worker whom Mr. Morgenthau would drive from the Ruhr.

It is important to note that in the course of the book Mr. Morgenthau never indicates where these people from the Ruhr are to go. He says on page 23, "The people would not be under alien rule because they would not be there." But where they would be is something that does not seem to concern the author of this plan.

Instead we are presented with some statistical manipulations purporting to show that it would be quite feasible to increase the agricultural labor force in Germany by five million people. These people are supposed to represent those who would be displaced as a result of the scrapping of all heavy industry in Germany. The reader should note at this point that these five million are not identical with the masses of workers and their families to be expelled from the Ruhr. In fact the center of the electrical and chemical industries as well as a good deal of the metallurgical plants are outside the Ruhr valley. But perhaps to Mr. Mor-

genthau such discrepancies within his own plan are minor details. As an agriculturalist he should know, however, that you cannot transform industrial workers into farmers by fiat. Modern agriculture is an art as well as a science. People who have spent all their life in urban centers have to be retrained before they can become effective farmers. A huge percentage of them will never be able to make the adjustment.

The decisive point is, however, that not only the human but the material and technical aspects of the matter will frustrate all attempts to change Germany from a highly industrialized into an agricultural country. One of these is the poor quality of large parts of the arable area in Germany. I leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions when he hears of a scheme of an allegedly possible increase of about 40% in the farm population in which at no time is there any reference made to the basic quality of most of the farm land available. Instead, Mr. Morgenthau mechanically adduces agricultural conditions in pre-war Denmark, Holland and Germany to prove that Germany could cultivate its land more efficiently. Does Mr. Morgenthau really not know that climate, irrigation and soil quality in most parts of Germany are far less favorable than those in the countries held up as a model in agriculture? After all, even he would admit that the Germans are hard workers. This being so, there must be a very good reason why German farm output was relatively less than that of some other countries. The reason is simple. Germany is not endowed with abundant agricultural resources.

Nevertheless, before the war, many Germans were of the opinion that a better economic balance could be established if the farm population could be increased somewhat by what was then called internal colonization. This referred to the Eastern part of the country, where more farmers could have been accommodated through a splitting up of large estates. But such a resettlement could never have assumed the proportions now proposed by Mr. Morgenthau.

We need not go into a detailed discussion of the degree to which pre-war Germany could have been changed over into a predominantly agricultural nation. The problem has become entirely obsolete by the Potsdam Declarations. There, an allegedly "preliminary" eastern frontier was established between Germany and Poland which deprives the Reich of 30 per cent of its arable area and 25 per cent of its agricultural output. In all fairness to Mr. Morgenthau, we must state that this territorial settlement was not part of his original plan. Even now, on page 160, he offers a

map of new German boundaries which leave all of highly agricultural Pomerania, the greater part of Lower Silesia and the eastern part of Brandenburg inside the Reich. It is symbolic of the quality of the whole plan that, nevertheless, the book contains without further comment a reprint of the Potsdam Declarations, which deprive Germany of precisely the area where a greater density of agricultural settlement would have been possible. Mr. Morgenthau sticks to his plan although the bottom fell out of it when virtually all of Eastern Germany was detached from the Reich at the Potsdam Conference. Instead of pointing with pride to that meeting, alleging that it has carried out his favorite scheme, Mr. Morgenthau should have been among those who objected to the territorial terms, for no other reason than on the ground that it nullifies all projects of a re-agrarization of Germany. And there is another disturbing silence on the part of Mr. Morgenthau. He knows that Potsdam sanctioned the expulsion of Germans from the eastern provinces and from the Sudetenland. This means that at least ten million additional people are to be crowded into rump-Germany. If we add the six million that he wants to throw out of the Ruhr district we find that a territory smaller than Great Britain has to feed, shelter and employ a total population of about 68 million. This is a conservative figure, which takes into account the war losses and the present high mortality rate in Germany. By forgetting very conveniently about these millions, most of them simple folk who never got anything out of the Nazi tyranny but hard work and long hours, Mr. Morgenthau pretends that we have to deal only with 60 million Germans! This figure is given in spite of almost daily reports of the tremendous involuntary migration of Germans resulting from the Potsdam decisions. To put it mildly, Mr. Morgenthau considerably understates the problems implied in his plan.

This leads us to the third point. The Potsdam Declaration tries to carry out two policies which are contradictory and mutually exclusive. Leaving the question of the internationalization of the Ruhr to future settlement, the Big Three at Potsdam adopted the Morgenthau plan for German de-industrialization. But at the same time they gave to Poland virtually all the land on which the precept of Morgenthau that Germans should go back to the farm would be carried out at least to a certain degree.

Even if the Morgenthau plan, considered in itself, did make sense and even if the new Polish frontier were justifiable, to combine this plan with that frontier adds up to total nonsense.

We may just as well admit this. Such fundamental errors must be discussed openly and not merely by the unhappy experts and administrators who are burdened with carrying out these policies. If we allow things to drift, we add new areas of conflict to the already delicate relations between the Big Three. As conditions in Germany deteriorate during the coming months, day to day frictions are bound to increase. Nobody wants a resurgence of German militarism and aggression. But peace cannot be based on German pauperism and disintegration. Instead of dividing Europe into two spheres of interest with all their dangerous implications as we do now, we should strive to enable Europe to rebuild. We have to decide now whether the new peace will have the ghostly atmosphere of a social, economic and political graveyard or whether it shall really lead to a world of security and progress.

THE WORK OF FEPC

SISTER MARIE JOSEPHINE

Amid the rather confused welter of material being written at the present moment on the so-called "Negro problem," one very pertinent question seems to have been entirely ignored—what does the Negro want? After having ascertained the objectives for which he is fighting, there would then follow the next question to be answered—are they legitimate? If after investigation, it is found that he is entitled in justice to attain these ends, then a third and far more weighty question needs answering—what are we Catholics doing here and now to aid these, our fellow members in Christ, to obtain justice?

The answer to the first question may be found in an article written by E. T. Lancaster, "What I, A Negro, Want in America," which appeared in *The Interracial Review* in March, 1945. Mr. Lancaster says in part that the American Negro wants "freedom to exercise all the rights, privileges, and duties proper to a human being . . . and to assume all duties enjoyed and exercised by all other American citizens."

In *The Race Question and the Negro*, (p. 205), Father John La Farge, S.J., quotes His Holiness, Pius XI, speaking to students of the College of the Propaganda for the Faith on July 28, 1938: "All human kind is a single human race. Some variations may be observed in this human race, but as a whole it must be taken as composing one great universal family." Father La Farge amplifies this statement when he writes that

the essential human rights of Negroes do not appertain

to them as Negroes, but simply as members of the human family. Human rights are not Negro rights, any more than they are white rights or red-haired persons' rights. They flow from the essential constituents of our nature, not from its accidental characteristics. (p. 99)

And these human rights to which the Negro is entitled in virtue of his dignity as a human being will include "duties, or a hierarchy of human functions in the civic, political, the social and spiritual order." (p. 236)

Therefore, having summarized what the American Negro really wants and having established his legitimate right to attain these desires, let us survey the field and see what has been accomplished.

At once, however, it appears that this field is far too comprehensive. One is bewildered and appalled at its magnitude. Let us then narrow it down to but one phase of economic life—the Fair Employment Practice Committee—the political issue which the Negro seems most interested in winning at the present moment.

As originally constituted under Executive Order 8802, issued June 25, 1941, the Committee was to be composed of a chairman and four other members, serving on a voluntary, unpaid basis. For the first time the Government laid down the principle that "no private contractor with whom it does business may practice discrimination in its employment policies without voiding his contract." (*Commonweal*, "Something to Continue," Sept., 1943). The funds for keeping this committee in operation were appropriated yearly by Congress and expired at the end of the fiscal year on June 30, 1945. Their renewal was hotly contested by some members from the Southern States in both houses of Congress. On the front page of the *New York Times* for June 29, 1945, an article reported that the Rules Committee in the House blocked any House action on new funds for the FEPC as it tabled a measure to appropriate \$125,000 to wind up the affairs of the committee in three months. In the same paper on June 30, Senator James Oliver Eastland from Mississippi, continuing to filibuster against the FEPC said: "We are asked here to set up an unfair preference against white soldiers solely because a Negro minority sells its votes to the highest bidder in a political campaign."

Now this would seem to be the "here and now" for us Catholics to espouse the Negro cause and help him fight to obtain the right to remunerative employment on a par with the non-minority group; for Lillian Smith, writing in the February, 1945 issue of *The Negro Digest*, ("Should Government Guarantee Job Equality For All Races"), states most emphatically, "whatever the excuse,

there is widespread discrimination because of color and creed throughout the United States today and too often *we have done nothing about it.*"

Now, "let's look at the record," as the late Governor Smith used to say; thus we shall see what we Catholics have done to break down the barrier of race discrimination here in the United States.

To date the American Hierarchy has issued no statement on the FEPC. However, individual Archbishops and Bishops have, and in some cases very forcible ones. The Right Reverend Monsignor Francis J. Haas, at the time Dean of the School of Social Sciences, Catholic University, was, in 1943, appointed Chairman of the new Committee, which was set up as an independent agency following the promulgation of Executive Order 9346. On October 18, 1943, Monsignor Haas resigned to become Bishop of Grand Rapids. Under date of June 12, 1945, Bishop Haas wired to Mrs. Mary Norton, Congresswoman from New Jersey and chairman of the Labor Committee in the House, that he was cognizant of the three bills then pending which sought

to protect certain minority groups of American citizens in their right to work by making it unlawful to exclude them from employment or to discriminate against them in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry,

and he asked for her "favorable consideration and assistance in getting what they provide enacted into law." His Excellency then went on to point out that these bills had "nothing to do with what is commonly called 'social equality' but are confined to the bare minimum of protecting job equality." He also called attention to the fact that the FEPC had been "functioning for some years with considerable amount of success" even though it never had more power behind it to enforce its findings than an Executive Order. While His Excellency says that he does not agree with every one of the provisions of the bills, he does say that he most warmly endorses them insofar as they all "1) define unfair employment practices, 2) establish a commission to make findings and 3) provide for enforcement of them."

The Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, Texas, and the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, Senior-Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, have declared themselves in favor of this legislation. In New York, Michigan and Ohio the Archbishop and Bishops have sent messages endorsing State Fair Employment Practice Laws through Catholic organizations functioning in their respective State capitals for that purpose. In the first two States listed, the endorsement was in the name of all the Bishops; in Ohio, of the Arch-

diocese of Cincinnati. In Los Angeles the Most Reverend John J. Cantwell, jointly with a Jewish Rabbi and a Protestant minister, signed a statement favoring anti-discrimination legislation.

Individual priests, too, have been untiring in their efforts to secure the economic rights to which the Negro is just entitled. The late Monsignor John A. Ryan, chairman of the Social Action Department of the NCWC, sent a message of endorsement to Congress while the bill was pending. As far back as March 2, 1943, in an address which he delivered at Howard University in the nation's capital, Msgr. Ryan said:

Happily, our government is endeavoring, however feebly and temporarily, to fulfil its obligation of enforcing this natural right of Negro workers through the Fair Employment Practice Committee. I repeat that in so doing it is merely performing a definite moral obligation. (*The Catholic Mind*, July, 1943.)

The Reverend George Higgins of the Social Action Department of the NCWC and the Reverend Richard J. Roche, O.M.I., late of the FEPC, have published forceful articles urging the adoption of fair employment practice legislation.

Groups that have worked most zealously to further social justice in this field have been the Catholic Interracial Councils of New York, Brooklyn, Washington, D. C., and Los Angeles; the Catholic Committee of the South with headquarters in Richmond, Virginia; the Governor's Committee on Race Relations in Saint Paul, Minnesota, which has for its very able chairman the Reverend F. Gilligan, who has made extensive contributions to this movement.

The Catholic press of the United States has performed an excellent job in putting this vital issue squarely before its readers. *The Catholic Periodical Index* for the year July, 1943 to June, 1944 shows that the Catholic magazines which led in this FEPC struggle were *America*, *Catholic Action*, *Commonweal* and the *Interracial Review*. The three Catholic labor newspapers, *Wage Earner*, *Work* and *The Labor Leader* also took a prominent part in this fight for economic justice for racial minorities.

"Crusaders of the Pulpit," an article by Aiken Welch, which appeared in the July, 1945 issue of *The Negro Digest*, gives unstinting praise to the Catholic priests, ministers, and rabbis who are working together to combat all forms of religious and racial prejudice. The author refers to the Catholic Interracial Council, founded eleven years ago in New York as "another stimulating center to spur the consciences of Catholics throughout the country." The influence of Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, according to the same article, has been invaluable in backing anti-discrimination

legislation in the State of Massachusetts, because of its large Roman Catholic population.

While the work of individual members of the clergy, the laity, and isolated groups has indeed been brilliant, they alone cannot hope to bring the needed relief to the 13 million Negroes in these United States, only 300,000 of whom are Catholics. And from the evidence presented it would appear that we Catholics, as a whole, are not taking the active leadership we should in this great struggle of a minority group for economic justice. The solid combined strength of all of us is needed, and the minority groups have a right to expect it. As Peter long, long ago said to Christ, "Lord, to whom shall we go?," so today the American Negro is asking the Church, His Mystical Body, this same question: "Lord, to whom shall we go?" This is not a rhetorical question. What answer are we Catholics going to give—*here and now?*

A NEW AGE IN AMERICAN SCIENCE

PHILIP S. MOORE

November 17, 1944, may prove to have been a memorable date for American science. On that day President Roosevelt wrote a letter to Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, in which he asked what government could do in the postwar period to further scientific research in medicine and the related sciences and in the natural sciences, and to aid in the recruitment of scientific talent in American youth "so that the continuing future of scientific research in this country might be assured on a level comparable to what had been done during the war." The President was thinking of the use of public funds in support of basic research in public and private organizations and of the best way of administering these funds.

The President was fully aware of the growing importance of science in modern life both for war and for peace. Defense against external enemies, national security, defense against internal enemies, disease and unemployment, national health and economic welfare, require that the United States stay out in front in the advance of science.

Mr. Roosevelt perhaps knew also of the mounting concern of scientists over the state of science in the nation. We had made marvelous applications of principles already known to the weapons and devices of war, but meantime our stock pile of basic scientific knowledge had run low. Europe,

long our principal source of fundamental knowledge, could no longer be depended on, even though we were disposed to depend on her. Scientific personnel was greatly depleted—an estimated deficiency of 17,000 trained young scientists by 1955. To meet these deficiencies in both basic knowledge and in personnel it was necessary that we realize our scientific potentialities as rapidly and as fully as possible. To meet our urgent needs would place upon our institutions—colleges, universities and research institutes—a financial burden far beyond what private resources could support.

In response to the President's letter, Dr. Bush appointed four committees of highly competent men—scientists, educators, industrialists and representatives of the private Foundations—and between January and late April of this year these committees discussed the matters within their competence and drew up reports for Dr. Bush. On the basis of these reports, Dr. Bush prepared his Report to the President, *Science—The Endless Frontier*.

This significant document emphasizes that scientific research and scientific progress will be essential to America during the years immediately ahead in assuring national security and defense, in improving the public health, in bettering the economic condition of the farmer, the industrial worker, the small businessman, and in providing higher standards of living for all. It takes full cognizance of the need of continued applied research but stresses the imperative needs of basic research and of trained scientific personnel. It recognizes that these needs must be met primarily by our colleges, universities and research institutes. Since these institutions cannot bear alone the burden placed upon them, the Bush Report, based upon the considered judgment of a large representation of scientists and educators, recommends that the Federal Government grant public funds to help them.

In what amounts should these public funds be given? The estimated amounts are: for the medical and biological sciences, \$5 million in the first year and \$20 million annually when research programs are well under way; for the natural and engineering sciences, \$10 million in the first year and \$50 million annually within a five-year period; for a fully operating plan of 24,000 undergraduate scholarships and 900 graduate fellowships, \$30 million annually.

For the administration and allocation of these funds the Bush Report recommends the creation of a National Research Foundation as an independent agency of government. The governing Board of this Foundation would be made up of

nine members "selected by the President on the basis of their interest in and capacity to promote the purposes of the Foundation." It is further recommended that under the Board there be organized professional Divisions, five at the outset: Divisions of Medical Research, of Natural Sciences, of National Defense, of Scientific Personnel and Education, of Publications and Scientific Collaboration.

The Bush Report does not specify the ways in which grants to educational and research institutions should be made. There is good reason to believe, however, that three principal ways would be adopted by the Board: matching grants, discretionary grants and the establishment of scholarships and fellowships. These three ways should assure impartial, equitable, wide distribution of public funds with the greatest benefits to end results from free, untrammelled research.

The Report repeatedly insists that there must be no governmental or political internal control of research supported by the Foundation and no encroachment upon the independence of the institutions in which this research is carried on. In the committee meetings members were unanimous and strong in their insistence that scientific research must be free if it is to produce new fundamental knowledge, and that our institutions must retain complete independence or we would destroy the most important values of a democratic society. If the recommendations of the Bush Report are incorporated into whatever legislation may be passed by the Congress, the dangers of political internal control of research and of encroachment on the independence of our institutions will be remote. But an external control there should be. The Foundation must be responsible to the President and the Congress for the allocation of public funds. It appears that such control will be exercised principally through regular audits and strict accounting of monies expended.

Government is constituted for the general welfare, in the words of the Constitution, or for the common good. No one doubts that basic scientific research is today of tremendous importance to the general welfare. Those who have studied the problem are convinced that a scientific program which far exceeds the ability of private resources to finance is required to meet our national needs and promote the best interests of the American people. It is therefore both the right and duty of the Federal Government to make up the deficiency. Fear of political encroachment or a vitiated attitude engendered by years of *laissez-faire* philosophy should not blind anyone to this incontrovertible principle of sound political philosophy.

Several bills to implement the Bush Report by appropriate legislation have been introduced into the Congress. If the resultant legislation incorporates the essential recommendations of the Report we should, under God, enter upon a new era of true prosperity and peace among men of good will.

"NO ONE EVER MENTIONS HIM"

ROBERT F. DRINAN

Some time ago I was teaching Sunday school to some post-Confirmation boys in a small town. I shall not soon forget an incident that happened on the feast of Christ the King. The catechism class after Mass had gone rather well. At the end of it I concluded with a little talk on the subject of Christ the King. "Christ," I said, "should rule over every home and every nation. . . . His claims are universal. . . He is the most important Man who ever lived. . . He should be the over-all Ruler of all men."

The six bright-eyed boys were unusually attentive. But towards the end of the talk a quizzical expression appeared on their faces. I paused and waited for their question. Little Tommy Manly spoke for the group—and with unknowing wisdom. "Well," said Tommy, "if our Lord is as important as you say then something must be awfully wrong because we never hear about Him in school or the movies or the papers. No one ever mentions Him to us."

I thought I could almost see the special grace of that Feast leap into Tommy's mind. I thrilled with joy at his insight. Tommy had caught the whole spirit of the feast of the Kingship of Jesus Christ—"No one ever mentions Him to us." In a sentence he had exposed the terrible evil brought home to our realization on the last Sunday of October, the exclusion of Christ from the social life of our age.

Pope Pius XI realized this evil two decades ago when he instituted the feast of Christ the King through which, as he wrote, ". . . we are at one and the same time providing for the necessities of these times and applying the *principal* remedy for the disease which is infecting human society."

The disease is laicism. The remedy: to stress the devotion to Christ as King of all men. Let us look at the disease. Laicism is the exclusion of Christ from public life. It divides the temporal and the spiritual and consequently outlaws the Saviour from economic and social life. Hence laicism is the

implicit denial that Christ has any prerogative to participate in the collective life of mankind.

Laicism, or secularism, plagues the world today. As Christopher Dawson writes in *Religion and the Modern State*,

They [the nations of the western world] may be Catholic or Protestant by tradition but when it comes to the realities of practical life we find that they all share the same modern secular culture which is the culture of the modern world.

Starting with the dissolution of unity in Europe and aided by the Liberalism of later centuries, secularism has gradually persuaded the world that one's religion is a matter only of private concern, a thing to be as hushed up in public as the scandal of the black sheep of the family.

The papacy in modern times has seen secularism developing and has denounced it on many occasions. In 1932 Gregory XVI in the Encyclical *Mirari Vos* inveighed against the error that one's faith is a private matter and that religious concepts have no place in public life. The "Syllabus of Errors" of Pius IX is a vigorous protest against the attempt to eliminate the influence of the Church on the life of nations.

An even more energetic campaign against secularism is evident in the actions of Leo XIII and of the last two Popes. In 1885 Leo XIII wrote in his Encyclical, "The Christian Constitution of States":

The authority of God is passed over in silence, just as if there were no God, or as if He cared nothing for human society; or as if men, whether in their individual capacity or bound together in social relations, owed nothing to God."

Again he writes:

... it is evident that it is not lawful for the State any more than for the individual . . . to disregard all religious duties.

At the turn of the century, moreover, Leo XIII counteracted secularism by consecrating the whole human race to the Heart of Christ the King.

In the very first Encyclical of Pius XI this evil of laicism was taken up again. He stated: "God and the Lord Christ have been removed from the conduct of public affairs." In this inaugural address, too, the Pope opened his campaign to restore the Redeemer to the public life of the day by stressing His royal claims to be the universal Ruler of the life of all mankind. There will be no real peace, the Pontiff warned, "unless the teaching, commandments and example of Christ are faithfully followed in public and private life."

As a practical remedy for secularism and a specific enforcement of the double denunciation of Leo and Pius, the Feast of Christ the King was

established in 1925. Pius XI had great hopes for this new Feast, designed to be a fitting close to the liturgical year. He asks in the Encyclical in which he sets out the purpose of the new Feast:

Will not the celebration of the Solemnity of Christ as King every year in every part of the world greatly help to expose and in some manner repair the public defection which laicism has brought with so much damage to society?

Moreover, this solemnity of Christ's Kingship

... will remind statesmen that they are bound, whether as private individuals or as magistrates and rulers, by the duty of worshipping and obeying Christ publicly.

The Pope laments that the Saviour is "not only rejected from public affairs but also contemptuously neglected and ignored"; to correct this we must "spread abroad a knowledge of the royal dignity of Christ." Aid is needed to "lead Him from the silence and hiddenness of the temple into the streets of the cities."

Throughout his pontificate Pius XI continued to stress the idea of Christ's Kingship as the means of restoring God to the social life of the day. The primary aim of Catholic Action was, according to Pius' desire, to bring the Kingdom of Christ to the world. The predominant note of Pius XI's teaching seemed to be the inauguration of the reign of Christ. In connection with this teaching he continually stressed the fact that religion must be for all men, as, for example, in his Encyclical on the Priesthood where he states: "Human society as such is bound to offer God public and social worship."

The continued campaign of Leo and Pius XI to restore the royal Redeemer to social and economic life has been furthered, too, by Pius XII. He planned his first Encyclical so that it would reach the world on the Feast of Christ the King. Having acknowledged the glorious act of Leo XIII in the consecration of mankind to Christ the King and the benefits of the introduction by Pius XI of the feast to renew this consecration annually, Pius XII restates the condemnation by his predecessors of that spirit which would exclude religion from social life:

The Holy Gospel narrates that when Jesus was crucified "there was darkness over the whole earth"; a terrifying symbol of what happened and what still happens spiritually wherever incredulity, blind and proud of itself, has succeeded in excluding Christ from modern life, especially public life, and has undermined faith in God as well as faith in Christ.

The recommendation of Pius XII is the same as that of the popes who went before him:

In the recognition of the royal prerogatives of Christ and in the return of individuals and of society to the law of His truth and of His love lies the only way of salvation.

It is now twenty years since Pius XI urged a greater devotion to the Kingship of our Lord as the "principal remedy for the disease which is infecting human society." It is six years since his present successor asked on the Feast of Christ the King,

Can there be anything nobler than to unfurl the "Ensign of the King" before those who have followed and still follow a false standard, and to win back to the victorious banner of the Cross those who have abandoned it?"

What has been the success of this phase of the Popes' plan to restore all things in Christ? Undoubtedly the emphasis on the royal rights of the Son of God has halted some of the godlessness in public life. As Pius XII observed, the Feast of Christ the King has brought "benefits beyond description for numberless souls." But yet, despite the campaign of the Popes against secularism, religion, still too confined to its private circle, has not yet permeated social and economic life. The sovereignty of Christ, impugned and ignored, still heads the list of modern calamities. The King of mankind is still the "tattered outlaw of the earth." The phrase of little Tommy rings pathetically true even today . . . "no one ever mentions Him."

The plan suggested by the Popes will, however, lead to victory although the road be long. But no matter what success or failure comes, the magnificent words of Pius XI cannot fail to be a guide and inspiration in trying to bring Christ the King into the councils and assemblies now planning the reconstruction of the world. In instituting the Feast we celebrate on the last Sunday of this month the late Pontiff showed the way to the Catholic world:

The greater the indignity offered to the sweetest name of our Redeemer in international conventions and the greater the silence about Him in the courts, all the louder should He be proclaimed and the more broadly the rights of the royal dignity and the power of Christ be affirmed.

The world should no longer be able to say: "No one mentions Him to us."

WHO'S WHO

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SISTER MARIE JOSEPHINE made a special study of the Fair Employment Practices Committee while attending the Catholic University.

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UNRRA AND A FREE PRESS

Despite the apathy that has too long benumbed the thinking of our legislators in the matter of appropriation of funds for continued UNRRA relief, signs now appear that they are waking to the gravity and urgency of the needs. Reports made on the floor of Congress, notably that by Representative Herter, of Massachusetts, on October 11, point in this direction. Together with this realization, however, there is a growing uneasiness about the disposition that has been made in the past of some of the relief supplies that have reached the Continent. Congressman Herter states flatly, for example, that "it is difficult to discover just what is happening to UNRRA goods" in some countries.

The implications behind this uneasiness are clear. It is implied in the Herter report (and stated openly elsewhere) that the misuse of UNRRA goods is being practised by Russia or at least being tolerated, if not encouraged, in those countries which are under Russian influence. To allay this uneasiness, which is playing no small part in delaying the vital appropriations, it has been suggested that the grant of UNRRA goods be made dependent on the freedom of the press in the receiving countries. Thus the Herter report:

That properly accredited representatives of the press of any of the member nations of the Administration UNRRA will be granted full liberty to observe and report upon the distribution and utilization of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services furnished for such country.

Now, freedom of the press is admirable and highly desirable in the liberated countries of Europe, but this does not seem the proper wedge with which to introduce it. To hold up relief until effective guarantees of such freedom come through would be to make the lives of millions hang upon the torturous and snail-paced processes of diplomatic agreements. It would effectively write their doom for the sake of a principle which, however shining, is just not practical in this crisis.

There is a more realistic way of assuring the fact that relief goods actually get through to the needy. Russia has asked UNRRA for \$600 million for her devastated regions. If misuse of UNRRA goods is a fact; if, as indications are, Russia is behind the misuse, she should be firmly informed that she will get no UNRRA relief until she stops tampering with the relief intended for others. True, this may in turn doom many Russians, but if so, it will not be the United Nations that dooms them—it will be Russia herself. H. C. G.

The capacity for destruction inherent in atomic energy has made more insistent the need to fashion an international order in which war is rendered not only difficult but impossible. It is being asked whether the ideas and impulses that inspired the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the United Nations can really meet the challenge presented by the atomic bomb. The prospect of catastrophe for civilization has forced mankind to consider whether it should be willing to pay a higher price for world peace than it has been willing to pay.

A recent statement issued from Dublin, N. H., calls for a world federation. Thirty leading Americans have proposed that a world federal government be created with closely defined and limited power adequate to prevent war. It would establish a world legislative assembly. It would not be a league of sovereign states in which the states retained unlimited sovereignty, acting and voting as states. It would maintain world inspection and police forces.

"There can be no peace without order and no order without law." This is the basic principle of world order. AMERICA has repeatedly emphasized that as long as nations hold to the principle of absolute sovereignty, setting themselves above the law, retaining final say in their own case, we shall never have the order which is the basis of peace.

Stern remedies, drastic precautions must be taken against the peril that faces civilization. Shall this be done by pressing for the immediate formation of a world government? Shall the United Nations be utilized for what it is worth today, while we press for its amelioration? A distressing fact is that to date the United Nations Charter is the only concrete measure of the world's will to peace. Its inadequacies are in a large measure testimony of the weakness of our own individual determination to pay the price of peace.

How shall we create that change of hearts in the world? First of all by insisting on the long range objective, the abolition of absolute sovereignty. Then by striving to create the necessary disposition among the citizens of the world. Strangely enough one medium for that process seems to be the very United Nations whose inadequacies the Dublin release deplors. It offers, at the moment, the only approach to world order that can be immediately realized. It offers a forum in which world opinion can be voiced and can be formed. These are advantages that it would not do to overlook. But it is, in the last analysis, based on power, not on law; and the world must be convinced that atomic energy let loose among

power politics means an ultimate world disaster.

The Dublin release stirs many reactions and stimulates much serious thought. Many may label it visionary, and not a few consider it an unfortunate diversion from the task of making the United Nations work. But it shows us a way, an answer to a question that troubles us all. We cannot afford to dismiss it lightly.

IMPORTED LABOR

When the transcontinental railroads were building and the iron and coal mines developing, American capital, with the approval of Government, sought out European labor to do much of the work. Immigration records and census statistics tell how thousands of Italians, Irish, Swedes, Germans, Slavs and other Europeans became residents and citizens of our country in this way.

Now that immigration laws and a growing domestic labor force have changed the picture, the foreign labor rarely comes to stay. But the practice of utilizing it is not dead. Foreign workers, especially from Mexico, are still used to do jobs American labor shies away from.

During the war thousands of alien laborers were brought into the country to do agricultural or railroad work. Domestic labor was lacking for the job. The possibility that low pay and bad working conditions were sometimes the cause of the shortage received no emphasis.

Under agreements with the respective governments thousands of Mexican and British West Indian natives were brought into the United States. According to the contracts, working conditions, housing, medical care would all be taken care of. Now that contracts are being cancelled and laborers returned to their homes complaints are heard that practice fell far short of the promises. The seriousness of the situation is increased by the fact that the dissatisfied workers are not staying in our midst but are taking back their resentment to their native countries—thousands of ambassadors of bad will.

Reports of returning Mexican laborers murdered just across the border for their money give some hint of how things are being handled. Railroad companies have not hesitated to force Mexican Indians to sign documents freeing the company from responsibility when the worker could hardly read Spanish let alone English. Private police and officials have dealt with situations within the province of public authority. Agricultural

workers from the British West Indies have represented the facilities offered them, the lack of clothing for colder climates, the race discrimination experienced. The selfishness of companies, the hands-off policy of government officials and the failure of American labor to show concern about the plight of the foreigners have marked the experiment as a failure. The thousands of Mexican railroad workers will most likely be with us until March, 1946, under extended contracts. Sympathy, justice and tact in handling them might repair some, not all, of the damage.

BOOKS FOR RUSSIA

Although relief for Russia, at least any official, government-directed relief such as UNRRA supplies, ought to be hedged about by certain vital provisos, there is one form for which appeals are now going out with which we find ourselves in accord. The American Society for Russian Relief is asking for books—a million of them.

We are in accord with this, we say. Yet it is not quite a plenary agreement, for the plea is always that such cultural communications will bring nations together. We hope, of course, that that will be the result, but if we are brought together and remain at the same time honest with ourselves, it will be by sending books to Russia which tell how *different* we are. If the relief organization sends over the collected works of Mr. Browder, or of someone else who is at present in better odor at the Kremlin, Russia will not be learning anything of the real United States, and any cultural rapprochement resulting will be a shot-gun wedding.

We think Russia should be sent books, lots of books, but they ought to be truly representative American books, either in authorship or content. De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* would open lots of Russian eyes; so would the late Msgr. Ryan's works on labor, so would Willa Cather's novels, or Bolton's classic works on the Western missions, so would thousands of others.

Perhaps AMERICA readers can do their share to see that such books will be turned into the collection. If we just leave it all to George, it is likely that George will ransack his shelves and ship back to Russia all the Communist hokum Russia has been shipping out to us for so long.

Let us show Russia, in our books, American democratic institutions, processes, lives. Russians may begin reading in curiosity and (who knows?) end in admiration.

BILL FOR BUILDING

Opponents of the full-employment bill have tried to give the impression that it is merely a scheme for unlimited government spending. Answering this objection the bill's sponsors have pointed out that, in their conception, spending is a last desperate resort. The government's main function is to help private enterprise to help itself.

By way of offering a concrete demonstration of this position, Senator Murray has now introduced a bill (S. 1449) designed to stabilize the all-important, job-producing construction industry. In the face of sterile, stand-pat scepticism, it opens real possibilities of fruitful collaboration between government and private industry to attain high levels of business and employment.

As set forth in the preamble, the bill aims to reduce the violent fluctuations in the construction industry which have contributed in the past both to disastrous speculative booms and to equally disastrous depressions. It would accomplish this 1) by using Federal facilities to provide local governments and private enterprise with information on trends in the volume of construction and factors governing the country's capacity to absorb new construction, and 2) by timing expenditures for necessary and useful public construction so as to minimize seasonal and long-term fluctuations.

To realize these excellent objectives, the bill provides the following machinery:

1. *The Construction Policy Board.* This Board, composed of the Secretary of Commerce as Chairman and the Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture, is to act as a policy-making body and make recommendations to the President and the Congress.

2. *The Public Works Stabilization Committee.* On this body will sit the Federal Works Administrator as Chairman, the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, the Reclamation Commissioner, the Director of the Budget, two members representing States, two representing municipalities, and two representing other political subdivisions. This committee will assist the Construction Policy Board in fulfilling its function.

3. *The Construction Industry Advisory Committee.* This group will act as a liaison agent between the Construction Policy Board, the Public Works Stabilization Committee and private enterprise. It will represent a cross-section of the construction industry, including labor, builders and contractors, architects and engineers, etc. In order to give the Policy Board the benefit of information acquired by close contact with programs of public works and activities of private enterprise,

the Chairman of this Committee and the Chairman of the Public Works Stabilization Committee will sit in on meetings of the Policy Board.

The value of this set-up lies in the laudable manner in which coordination is achieved in a key industry without regimenting private enterprise or infringing on the prerogatives either of States and local governments or of the Congress. The Policy Board, advised by private enterprise and government agencies, makes recommendations to the President and the Congress, but has no power to dictate to anybody. While the President is empowered to accelerate public works already authorized, or postpone them, as the case may be, he cannot interfere with projects already under way. The right of Congress to authorize public works and make appropriations remains inviolate.

Here is a challenge to opponents of government intervention to assure full employment. This bill involves no increase in bureaucracy and no deficit financing. It gives private groups representation on top levels of government policy. It ought to be passed as quickly as possible.

NATIONAL RESEARCH

A GREAT DEAL of controversy has centered around the report, "Science, the Endless Frontier" (described elsewhere in these pages), which Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, submitted early in the summer to President Truman.

In the controversy neither the advisability of a National Research Foundation nor its need of Federal support has been questioned. The chief point of contention is over *control* of the proposed Foundation. Some are of the opinion that in the interests of strict efficiency a national research project should be organized, planned and directed by the Federal Government; that it should be successor to or continuation of the Government-controlled Office of Scientific Research and Development. Others, however, hold that a National Research Foundation would advance scientific research and discovery not only on a wider plane but eventually more effectively if it were encouraged and supported by the Government but freed from direct Government control.

Dr. Bush and those who collaborated in preparing his report stand firmly for this second view of national research. According to their proposals, the Federal Government, through a competent civilian agency responsible to the President and the Congress, would promote and aid in financing basic research by entering into contract with, or by giving grants to, organizations outside the

Federal Government. These outside organizations would be principally "public and private colleges, universities and research institutes." It is of the utmost importance, Dr. Bush adds, that internal control of policy, personnel and the method and scope of research be left to the institutions themselves.

It seems to us that Dr. Bush and his associates are entirely right. The Office of Scientific Research and Development was an emergency project of the recent world war. The effective work it accomplished was confined to devising and perfecting instrumentalities of war; it was no part of its object to advance scientific research as such. Dr. Conant of Harvard, a close associate of the OSRD, has pointed out that "Any advancement of science was a pure by-product, and it was the task of those in control to keep such by-products to a minimum." Peacetime research projects, on the other hand, should have a wider and freer purpose. Almost by definition—to quote Dr. Conant again—the important advances in pure science are unexpected; the men who have turned the unlooked-for corner are the pioneers whose memory we now revere. Their successors will work in the same unorganized and undirected way as they did, or the advance of science will suffer an eclipse.

But there is a further reason for objecting to a Government-controlled program of national research. A writer in the correspondence column of the *New York Times*, in criticizing the Bush report, stated that in his view "Soviet Russia has approached this task more realistically." It would have been truer to say that Soviet Russia has approached the task on a realistic Russian basis. But Russia's realism is not ours. Any national research project which the United States sponsors ought to fit into the general political, social and economic framework of our nation, not into that of any other nation where a principle of nationalization or socialization is a determining factor. Neither controlled minds nor controlled research square with the traditions and genius of our nation.

It will not be long before debate on the Bush proposals reaches the stage of decision. Several science bills have been introduced in both Houses of Congress. And at the moment the Senate is holding joint hearings on the Kilgore-Johnson-Pepper Bill, the Magnuson Bill and the Fulbright Bill. Each of these bills provides for increased Government support of scientific research; their differences consist precisely in the type and amount of control to be exercised by the Government. It is our hope that the decision will go unanimously to the Bush report.

LITERATURE AND ART

UP THE INMAN

JOSEPH DEVER

I shall never forget the Inman Square Theatre. It is one of those permanent memory-furnishings that is always fresh, always graphic, and always an inexhaustible source of rainbow drollery. Its multiform and multicolor nostalgia-images are of richest solace to me now, because now is the time of the interminable Army pattern, and now is the time of one wearisome, overwhelming color; yes, I do mean olive, and I do mean drab.

"Up the Inman" is one of the rainbow phrases central to my late infancy, my childhood, boyhood and early manhood or adolescence. I will try to show you how this is so.

And when you say "up the Inman," I wish that you would say it in the wonderful way that was our olden way of uttering that phrase. You must drop the first "n" and say: "Up the Im-an."

I know the Inman Theatre in the best way that a life-long city-dweller can know anything. I know the Inman because of life-long association with it in: a) the sensate oblivion of late infancy; b) the ever-recurrent, color-bath wonder of childhood; c) through the bizarre, unpredictable fairyland of boyhood; d) into and through the bitter-sweet turbulence of early manhood.

The American movie matinee should never be without intermittent, squalling, pink-skinned babies of age one to three. These good American housewives who bring their babies to places like the Inman Theatre, have an amazing genius for keeping their respective babies purr-quiet for the greater part of the cinematic performance. Such is their lullaby gift, their elocutionary skill and the calessthenic deftness of their hands and knees, that the baby is constantly in undulant fits of dozing, gurgling and the making of pillow-soft consonant sounds.

However, even the ageless dexterity of a mother in the handling of a cryable child is at one inevitable moment of little avail. For be he in his inviolate kingdom of crib, up on the spoon-flinging eminence of his high-chair, or buried in the rational and diversionary darkness of the Inman Square Theatre, when the inevitable moment for squalling arrives, he, the noblest and most courageous proponent of free speech in the entire known world, will let drive with all the impudence, arrogance and puncture-stridence of a modern air raid siren.

And let the Casanovas of the fervid Hollywood embrace light well their fires; for that twenty-three pounds of writhing noise-machine will ignite more superficial passions in exactly two minutes of caterwauling than all the celluloid Romeos could enflame in many and many an equatorial reel.

And at the end of that two minutes, mama will stumble foggily up the darkened aisle, a yowling baby under one arm, and her crumpled overcoat under the other. Her flowered and fruited one dollar felt hat will be propped crazily on her head as she utterly ignores the dry and acidulous remarks of the deafened, eek-addled matinee goers. She will cast one last deep drink of a look at Rudolph Valentino as she pushes out into the blinding, clanking, mid-winter prose that is Inman Square and will always be Inman Square at three o'clock of a December afternoon.

The foregoing is what I do *not* remember of infants "up the Im-an." It is what I have imagined. Such an infant is too young for remembering. Eating, sleeping, vague-knowing, strong-sensing and mama, mama, mama, are all the things there are in baby-cosmos; there can be little memory-story told.

But as an older child, say of age three to five, I do remember "up the Im-an," and this is the way it was:

My mother would be watching the picture rather intently. We would be sitting somewhere up back, the time, summer, the afternoon, hot.

Those were the days of primitive air conditioning in large-city theatres. They conditioned the air all right, they threw open the doors for about five minutes out of every hour. If there was no wind, I imagined that there was; I looked out of the corner of my eye at the dazzling wedges of sunlight which filled the side exits, and somehow I felt a little cooler.

However, I eventually grew sweaty and wearily bored with it all; all the darkness, the iron attentiveness of the adults to the intense, well dressed people in the photoplay; and then there was my goading inability to decipher the myriad clusters of print which appeared on the screen from time to time.

I would then slip coyly off my mother's knee and begin to crawl under the seats, under the legs of the people, down, down, to dark and distant lands of wonder.

I remember just how it was. The concrete in-

cline was cold, dusty and clammy, almost to the point of dampness. My hands and knees became streak-bruised and calloused with a murky coating of dust. The toes of my shoes became skinless and the dust worked into the raw leather, forming a permanent toe-cap of dismal brown. I crinkled candy wrappers with my tortuous body-gropings, I got my fingers caught in perfectly innocent shoe laces and enmired my trusting, trail-blazing hands in oozy and elephantine wads of castaway chewing gum. Matronly ladies uttered a choked scream and called for the usherette. Then there were the ill-tempered little kids who kicked out at me viciously and hit me on the head with sandwich ends, banana peels and bone-dry apple cores.

I sought welcome refuge under a strategic row of empty seats. I began to yell for my mother, but thought better of it, and became fascinated with the circumferential wire springs which were under almost every seat. These springs were usually broken and one could twang them very easily. I made a very loud and pathetic musical sound with one of them and this brought a pretty Irish girl of eighteen down upon my head. She had a flashlight and she was an usherette "up the Im-an."

She lifted me into her arms and carried me tenderly up the aisle and into the lobby. There she fell in love with me, asked me my name, and got me a large red lollipop just before she sent for my mother.

This beautiful colleen then washed my face and hands, combed my hair and was extremely solicitous of the little bruises on my knees, and on the yieldy, brunt-bearing flesh of my palms. Sometimes she kissed me on the cheek, I could smell something nice in her long, black hair, and was glad to be a baby.

When I became a boy the Inman was still a compelling image in the blurring totality of living.

The Inman of the young boy was that of the desperate raising of six cents at least four times a week. It cost six cents to get in, and no matter what went on in Washington, Wall St., or at the Amalgamated Tube Works, we could always manage to get hold of: "six sints. . ."

We cashed nickel bottles. We got them from our mothers, from the unsuspecting back step of a neighbor, from the Greek store when Joe the Greek was in the back room weighing potatoes. We got our Inman bottle almost anywhere, but we got it.

We could always get the other needed cent, and more besides. A bunch of us would stand outside the Inman about a half hour before show time; we'd cover every possible entrance to the ticket

lobby, see an adult coming and then unselfconsciously ask: "Gutta nextra sint?" We would usually get a penny or two, sometimes we'd get a nickel. We'd all keep on bumming till show time and there'd almost always be a generous number of pennies left for candy.

The Inman of the young boy was, too, the Inman of horse operas. The cowboy pictures were our favorites then. There was Tom Mix, Yakima Canute, Buck Jones, William S. Hart and Hoot Gibson; they were all supermen of the purple sage, and we never got anything but zest out of their corny, two-gun routines.

This was the time of the marathon session at the Inman. We went in on a Saturday morning (there was always a special Saturday morning show at which you received an ice cream sandwich on the house). We had with us a lot of stout, strong-smelling lunches. An usherette, who had been out too late the night before, snarlingly ordered us to "double up." We sat there, two in a seat, at ten o'clock in the morning and did not budge out of the theatre until eight o'clock that same night. By that time we would have seen four performances of a double-feature, wild-west nightmare. During the second, third and fourth performances, all of us were commentators and prophets. We told all the newcomers, mostly adults, just what was going to happen and when, whether they wanted to hear it or not.

When the usherette came down to throw us out, we'd all swift-migrate to many far-flung, inaccessible reaches of the theatre, and she would be able to collar only one or two of our cinema-happy crowd.

There would be sandwich fights and the whip-crack noises of exploding paper bags all during the pictures. The little girls would be losing littler brothers, who in turn had always irretrievably lost mittens, jackets, stocking caps and an occasional shoe. At eight p.m. we would all get out of the darkness into the darkness and go home to our anxiety-ridden mothers.

The Inman of our early manhood was the place where the mischievous energies of our adolescence found a ready outlet. This was the time of the longshoreman's hook and the appalling and sundry feats of daring which shy, leggy, broken-voiced kids could perpetrate in and around the old and hulky movie house of our dreams.

"Pay? Whit, us pay teh get in 'ee Im-an? Gwan, doan be crazy!"

About twenty minutes after the first show had begun, a bunch of us would go round to a back exit with our longshoreman's hook. Two of the strongest members of our gang would work the

sharp end of our murderous longshoreman's hook underneath a cast-iron flap which guarded the door lock from outside tampering, i.e., us. The sharp end of the hook would bite into the wood which lay underneath the iron flap. Each of our two Hercules would brace a foot against the door and begin to tug. The door would squeak and groan for a matter of seconds, then with a monstrous snap it would fly open, its outward violence upsetting the tuggers and planting them rudely on their flanks.

A huddled period of expectancy would follow during which we watched apprehensively from around the corner of the theatre building. The wind would blow the exit curtains in, and little sun slivers would dart kaleidoscopically about the front, left corner of the blacked-out movie house.

If an usherette did not come within two minutes, we would all crawl carefully down the steps which led into the orchestra, the last guy in closing the door velvety behind us.

But then we had to do a risky thing. All the empty seats were on the opposite side of the theatre. We could not walk up back and around to them, for the usherettes would spot us and all would be lost. So we crawled painfully along just under the gay-flickering screen.

We crawled almost as flat as a serpent, we fairly writhed along, because the slightest elevation of our backs would have made us characters in the movie. This bit of unlooked-for characterization on our part would have brought the usherettes and the manager hurrying down to the stage where they could get a more appreciative look at the new actors.

Finally we all got safely across. We filled all the empty seats and sat urbanely through the rest of the picture.

During intermission, I remember moving over next to my girl. I appalled her with the gusty tale of my admission to this magic hall, and some times I held her small, ivory hand.

I would have told her, that, someday, I was going to be a big-time Pfc in the U. S. Army, if I had only known. I would have told her in the suavest, staunchest way. For I was "up the Im-man," and she was there beside me, in the time, the time, the gone and golden time of my early youth.

PFC JOSEPH DEVER, a graduate of Boston College, was recently represented in the collection, *The Best from Yank*, by his short-story, "Fifty Missions."

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BOOKS

POLITICAL TRACT FOR GERMANS

THE FREE STATE: SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON ITS PRACTICAL VALUE. By D. W. Brogan. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2

THE EVER-BUSY PEN of Professor Brogan of Cambridge University, which produced interesting studies of both the English and the American peoples during the war, has now directed a "tract" to the German people. In the first chapter, "Case for Freedom," he contrasts the social effects of political freedom with those of military rule. Unfortunately, the ideology of the French Revolution (which the author too readily identifies with the American revolutionary philosophy) confronted Germany in the form of the French Army. Another misfortune of the Germans was that they rose suddenly in economic and political importance before they had "an adequate middle class to cope with the problems involved." For these and other reasons, the Germans appear in the eyes of Western culture as *politically* backward. No one denies that they have produced great science, great music, great literature, or even (in a narrow, technical sense), great public administration. But their *political* capital stood for nothing of any value: who felt about Berlin the way people everywhere felt about Paris and London?

For one thing, the Germans never developed the art of national self-criticism. Their political thinking was essentially egocentric. What favored Germany was "just," and what seemed to impede her was "unjust." The Germans did not have the sense to see that such childish standards would only turn other peoples against her. She caused her own "encirclement."

In "The Case for Politics," Brogan points out that at the time when the rulers of other emerging nation-states were forced to study the political problems involved in governing heterogeneous national communities, the German people was broken up into three hundred sovereign units. Each could be ruled without "those fruitful contests *within* a united state" occasioned by divergent economic, social and political groups. The Germans kept thinking in terms of political uniformity while the other nations were learning the lessons of political unity in diversity. The obsequiousness to rulers which non-Germans always notice in Germans was encouraged.

In "Liberty and Arms," the author finds it very symptomatic that Bismarck, the Kaiser, Bethmann-Hollweg and Hindenburg chose to appear in public on all great occasions in military attire. They forefronted the military instead of the legal basis of government. And yet their carefully laid military plans go awry. Why? Because they do not evoke the reserves of devotion to country, of ingenuity, of patience with official mistakes that come to the front in free societies when they are called upon to defend themselves.

No one could write about the shortcomings of the Germans with more sophistication, more historical knowledge, more literary grace, or better manners than Professor Brogan. He has not, however, really presented the case for free societies on a philosophical basis. And he has not pressed home the peculiar moral bankruptcy of the Germans which enables them to believe that no matter whom they starve to death or murder, they are free from blame so long as they are acting under orders. Nor has he reinforced his contention that their political system is the source of infection by citing the way in which Germans in America have outgrown the attitudes he condemns in Germans in Germany.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT

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ITALY AND THE COMING WORLD. By Luigi Sturzo. Introduction by Sumner Welles. Roy Publishers. \$3.50

AS DON STURZO PREPARES to leave the United States and to return to Italy, which he left twenty-one years ago, this latest book of his is published. The destiny of Italy, the outcome of the totalitarian crisis, the future of Italian democracy, all these questions have never been far from Don Sturzo's heart. Even though, during the long years of his exile, first in England and later in the United States, he has turned more and more towards those philosophical and sociological studies which had been the object of his first passionate inquiries in his youth, Italy has never been absent from his thought. Beginning with his *Italy and Fascism*, published in 1927, a book which still gives one of the most satisfactory explanations available of the crisis leading to Fascism, and continuing with an impressive list of hundreds of articles and essays appearing in all languages and on all continents, Don Sturzo more than any other Italian exile has symbolized the strength of Italian democracy and the hopes of a better future for Italy.

The present book, even though to some extent concerned with the past, deals largely with the future, with regard both to Italy itself and to the place of Italy in the community of nations. The readers will do well to ponder the chapter on "Italy and Democracy," which gives in a few pages a remarkable historical summary of the sources of strength of democratic ideas in Italy and validates the claims of those who have been asserting the depth and reality of Italy's democratic leanings.

There is a detachment in Don Sturzo's book even when he is discussing the most controversial questions, which is wholly refreshing. Some polemicists, politicians and others, have fallen into the habit, when discussing the political future of Italy, of exchanging appearance for reality and of treating formal issues as if they were the very essence of the problems which have to be solved. The question of the monarchy is a good case in point. It has caused more heated and prolonged debate than any other issue, when it is quite clear that to achieve a political resurrection in Italy what is needed is not the elimination of an institution, but the creation of those conditions of a free and progressive political life without which, monarchy or no monarchy, a free and democratic Italy cannot come into being.

Don Sturzo's republican leanings are well known and he makes them quite evident in his book. But in his discussion of the monarchical question, he brings the issue back to its fundamentals by saying that, whatever the decisions of the forthcoming Constituent Assembly, the question of the retention or the elimination of the monarchy will not matter, if that Assembly has done its work well:

If the representatives of the people . . . wish to retain the monarchy, it will not be the same monarchy as of old, for it is not the monarchy that will grant the charter to the people, it is the people that will decide the rights and duties of the monarchy. The king will no longer be the guarantor of the constitution; the people will control the king in the exercise of his high function and see to it that he maintains himself within the assigned limits. In substance, the king would be a president of the republic for life . . . while the president would be a constitutional king for a limited number of years.

The same attitude, one which refuses to accept blindly party slogans and demagogic battle-cries, reveals itself in Don Sturzo's discussion of all of the basic problems facing Italy. In his treatment of the agrarian question, Don Sturzo

asserts that political parties must resist the temptation to make it a motive for political proselytizing or a means for revolutionary dreams, but must rather come to an agreement on gradual measures that will not impair the normal production of the country. To those who say that unless we seize this fleeting opportunity we will never be able to introduce any radical changes in the social structure of the country, Don Sturzo answers that they have no faith in the future of democratic processes and in the method of freedom.

This insistence on the method of freedom, on the safeguards which must guarantee the fullest expression of the political and other communal activities of the individual, is the underlying theme of this book. It is what distinguishes it from so much of the other political production of the post-Fascist period, from the writings of the prophets who have no doubt about what is right and what is wrong in the political and social field and who are not ashamed of claiming the use of violence, if necessary, to see their views realized. The specter of the rise of a new totalitarianism, either of the right or of the left, haunts Don Sturzo. It is interesting to speculate on the possible accrual of influence for the Christian-Democratic Party, following Don Sturzo's return. Critics of the party have, not without some foundation, stressed the divided nature of its leadership and the existence of alleged ties with the Vatican which make of the Christian-Democratic Party not an independent political force competing with the other parties in the arena of Italian politics, but a puppet of the Church.

Throughout Europe, the role of parties such as the Christian-Democratic Party in Italy, the Popular Republican Movement in France, is increasing in importance. They are becoming the rallying centers of all those who are interested in a new political and economic life and yet are loath to part entirely from the accepted traditions of the Western community and, essentially, to give up the doctrine which ascribes to the individual member of society a part which no state can suppress. It is therefore important that these new parties should move forward courageously, freed from any accusation which might make them appear as anything less than independent agents, and that they should further strengthen the already strong democratic currents within their fold.

MARIO EINAUDI

COMMUNISM ALONE HAS WON

THE GERMAN TALKS BACK. By *Heinrich Hauser*. Henry Holt and Co. \$2.50

THIS BOOK IS NEWSWORTHY on three counts. It was written by a non-Nazi refugee who, having spent the last six years in the United States, prefers to return to chaotic Germany with his Jewish wife, leaving his children here to grow up as Americans, rather than continue his residence with us. Rarely has a spokesman for a conquered people expressed his views so freely in the victorious nation so soon after the defeat of his homeland. In the American hour of triumph Mr. Hauser tells us that the United States has not fulfilled its promise, has fallen far short of its potentialities, and is the anticlimax of European hopes and expectations of a hundred years ago.

Building on these newsworthy elements, the publisher describes this as an "angry and incendiary" book that will prove "infuriating reading" to Americans. In a six-page foreword, Hamlet-like, he wrestles with his conscience. To publish or not to publish? Before giving himself an affirmative nod, he engaged the services of Dr. Hans J. Morgenthau of the University of Chicago to write a nine-page introduc-

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tion and to add a few footnotes to the text when the author wanders away from historic truth. The publicity drums are finally silent and we settle down to the prosaic business of reading what Mr. Hauser himself has to say.

Here are the author's nine major opinions: 1) German's defeat was by no means tantamount to a democratic victory. Democracy actually lost the war for the reason that the spread of Communism all over Europe proves once again the power of totalitarian ideology. 2) All Germans who are not flunkies will loathe the American brand of democracy and will never submit to becoming citizens of a democracy. 3) The Allies are very likely to make a horrible mess of the occupation job the moment it becomes anything more than a purely military affair. 4) Russian occupation, for all the terrors it may hold, has a far better chance to succeed because it may be able to create a hundred per cent Communist Germany. 5) The German intelligentsia considers Communism to be an almost unavoidable, if highly unpleasant thoroughfare through which German must needs pass if she is ever to shake off the yoke of the Western democracies. 6) Prussia is unalterably the decisive force in Germany's destiny and Germans must, in the long run, return to militant socialism. 7) The large majority of Germans will not feel guilty of the political and military atrocities which Germany has committed in the war because they have not witnessed them. At the same time, they have seen the destruction of their own cities from the air and will have the ruins forever to remind them of Allied military atrocities. 8) While the large majority of Germans can be made to feel guilty, this sense of guilt will stem primarily from the punishment administered by the Allies and not from the moral conviction the Allies aim to arouse by that punishment. 9) Those of the German intelligentsia who have lived in America or studied America do not believe in some of the foremost American tenets, such as that the United States is a free country or that it is a genuine democracy.

All these opinions may be summed up in the thesis that the more America tries to help Germany the more Germany will hate and despise us; but we should help Germany anyhow because, if we don't, Germany will turn Communist.

This is a perverse, pessimistic propaganda tract that merits only passing consideration. While some of Mr. Hauser's observations and criticisms are perfectly true, the book as a whole is merely a gratuitous revelation of an unpleasant state of mind which is alleged to be representative of the current mental processes of a large segment of the German intelligentsia. Since Mr. Hauser eventually surrenders most of the opinions expressed in earlier chapters, the book inspires, not resentment, but pity. From the American viewpoint it is illogical, lacks positive conviction on any subject, and merely veers from one position to another until the final paragraph has been written. Love of country is undoubtedly a noble virtue and there is no reason to doubt that Mr. Hauser loves his country and would like to aid in its rehabilitation. For this reason we wish him well, even though we do not believe that either his book or his philosophy is what America or Germany needs now.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

FRANCESCA CABRINI: *Without Staff or Scrip*. By Lucille Papin Borden. The Macmillan Co. \$2.75

THIS IS A THRILLING STORY of missionary enterprise. A spark of Divine love kindled so unquenchable a flame in the heart of a frail little nun that, through her apostolate, hundreds were guided to God on the path of religious perfection, and hundreds of thousands came to know and serve God in the humbler walks of life.

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In her childhood Francesca had dreamed of evangelizing China, but Pope Leo XIII decided that her field of action should be America. "Not to the East but to the West," was the Holy Father's direction on the occasion of her first audience with him. "Go to the United States and there you will find a great field of labor." So she gave up her life's hope of China and arranged to do as she was told.

Hence the greater part of the book describes Francesca's activity in the United States and South America, with only occasional references to her work in Italy, France, Spain and England. She was endowed with talents of a very high order, which she used consistently and unsparingly in the cause of God's Church and her neighbors' spiritual and temporal welfare. One hardly knows which to admire most—her amiability, quick sympathy, clear vision, physical courage, indomitable will power or skill in management. These qualities may have contributed much to the initial success of her many undertakings, but final victory was the result of countless prayers, sacrifices and hardships, together with an unlimited confidence in Divine help. She used to say with Saint Theresa: "Alone I can do little, but with Jesus I can do everything." What she undertook approached, at times, the impossible; yet not she, but Christ, wanted it. She was merely the instrument by means of which He would do the work.

HENRY WILLMERING, S.J.

LAST MOUNTAINS. *The Story of the Cascades.* By Robert Ormond Case and Victoria Case. Doubleday, Doran and Co. \$2.75

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The Mazama Club is justly famous, and members must be real mountain climbers, not arm-chair zealots. The Club has been very influential in maintaining the natural beauties of the Cascade region, now protected by National Parks.

The authors have managed to include a great store of information in a small book, with tales of the hardy pioneers as well as of the modern sportsman who has found his Valhalla in skiing, fishing and climbing; and bits of Indian legend and custom add color to the panorama. All these tales, written in a lively and humorous style, give a human touch to the immense backdrop of the changeless mountain grandeur.

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THEATRE

THERESE. Lenin, the prime mover of the Communist Revolution in Russia, once declared that among every hundred of his followers there were one true Communist, thirty-nine crooks and sixty fools. Perhaps in every hundred theatregoers there are one sincere lover of dramatic art, thirty-nine extroverts who want to see all the hits because it's the fashionable thing to do, and sixty nondescripts who go to the theatre to escape various irritations and boredoms, or merely because they cannot think of any other place to go between dinner and bedtime. *Thérèse* is a play for the minority of one.

It is a story of crime and retribution, based on Zola's novel, *Thérèse Raquin*, in which an artist and his paramour are driven by their passion to murder the latter's husband. They escape detection, but conscience and the blazing eyes of the victim's mother, lash them until they confess their guilt to the police. The theme might be keyed either as a psychological drama or an emotional thriller. Margaret Webster, who directed the piece, made the latter choice and did not score a brilliant success. Thomas Job, who converted the novel into a play, did not accomplish a flawless writing chore, but did manage to provide a convenient vehicle that enables three highly competent actors to display their talents.

Eva Le Gallienne, Victor Jory and Dame May Whitty are co-starred in the production, the latter favored with a trick role which makes her performance apparently but not actually superior to the others. Dame Whitty plays the victim's aging mother who suffers a stroke when she learns of her son's murder, being unable to move any part of her body except her eyes. Deprived of speech and motion, she cannot expose the guilty pair, but her eyes constantly accuse them and eventually drive them to doom. Miss LeGallienne and Mr. Jory, in their less colorful roles, are quite proficient.

Victor Payne-Jennings and Bernard Klawans are the producers; sets and costumes were designed by Raymond Sovey. The play is quartered in the Biltmore. *Thérèse* is not an outstanding production but it is good of its kind.

THE RED MILL. This revival is a sentimental venture on the part of Paula Stone, whose father appeared in the original production. Her co-sponsor is Hunt Stromberg Jr., and the pair of them have engineered a beautiful production.

The Red Mill harks back to the days when authors like Henry Blossom wrote their own stories and lyrics instead of muscling in on the glamour of Viennese waltz kings and the prestige of Polish patriots. It is a simple and not too serious story of young love contrasted with love that is a bit conniving to take a profit along with romance. The story, of course, hardly matters, as its sole reason for existence is to afford comely actresses and well tailored actors an opportunity to sing and dance to the accompaniment of Victor Herbert's lilting melodies. Dorothy Stone, another daughter of the original star, offers a pleasing voice and some fancy dancing as her contribution to the occasion; Michael O'Shea and Eddie Foy Jr. (another reminiscent name) help along with the necessary comedy, at such times as Odette Myrtil is not in charge of that department, and Edward Dew is expert in blending melody and humor.

Billy Gilbert directed the production, while Adrian Awan arranged the sets and lights and Aida Broadbent staged the dances. The orchestra is under the direction of Edward Ward. All together, they produce a show that, avoiding grandeur and brass, is unpretentiously beautiful. *The Red Mill* is melodious, gay and funny without being smutty. Practically a miracle in these days. THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

THE SPANISH MAIN. Once again it takes a film to prove that all that glitters is not gold. And glister this production does, in luscious tones of technicolor, as it reveals the robust experiences of swashbuckling heroes and beautiful ladies in an era when pirates sailed the seas. Lovely Maureen O'Hara's charms were never photographed to better advantage, and shots of ships with sails stained in brilliant hues are flung against backgrounds of heavenly blue. As to action, there is plenty of that, with fights galore, plus swordplay, on land and sea, with pirates carrying off prizes, even the fiancée of a Spanish governor, on one occasion. Summing the whole thing up, it is sad, nevertheless honest, to report that the picture never succeeds in being anything better than mediocre entertainment. Probably the plot is to blame, for despite its forceful material it seems silly while it records the story of a Dutch sailor who turns robber to avenge himself against the Spaniards after they tried to force him into slavery. Escaping from prison, the fellow plies the seas, looting Spanish ships most successfully. Paul Henreid has the role of the Dutchman and he handles it with the necessary flair. Walter Slezak plays to the skies that villain of the piece, the cruel Spanish ruler. Binnie Barnes is the woman pirate, who has her own plans for the hero. In his direction Frank Borzage has managed most satisfactorily the action sequences—they are showy, exciting bits these scenes of struggle and adventure. *The Spanish Main* may satisfy some adult cinemagoers. (RKO-Radio)

A GAME OF DEATH. Adapted from a story, *The Most Dangerous Game*, this production emerges as the rather gruesome history of a paranoic who hunts men instead of animals, as diversion. There are hair-raising moments, and some definitely morbid ones as well, in the tale of a big game hunter who suffers a head injury, lives on a lonely island and delights in preying upon the humans he has caused to be shipwrecked nearby. John Loder and Audrey Long have the leading roles. This is only passable stuff and is suggested for those adults who like horror pictures. (RKO-Radio)

THAT NIGHT WITH YOU. Even the pleasant singing of Susanna Foster cannot mask the cheap and shoddy underpinnings of this story. Here, an ambitious singer permits her aspirations to lead her to the home of a musical comedy producer (Franchot Tone) where she confronts the man with the claim that she is his daughter, and circumstances follow that very nearly allow the deceiver to get away with her lie. Though a fanciful finale writes a happy ending to the lives of the characters involved, it cannot blot out the objectionable rating the film demands with its light treatment of marriage and its suggestive remarks. (Universal)

SUNBONNET SUE. Making no elaborate pretenses during its unfolding, this is a modest little offering that takes us back to the Bowery at the turn of the century. Such musical numbers as *By the Light of the Silvery Moon*, *Schooldays*, *Sweet Rosie O'Grady*, *The Bowery* and *Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay*, to mention a few, will bring the oldtimers in the audience back many years. Maybe some will be annoyed over the fact that the Irish are again presented as saloonkeepers. However, that circumstance and the somewhat hectic record of their political and social mix-ups are not handled offensively. Gale Storm is Sue Casey and she sings and dances delightfully. As her sweetheart, Phil Regan has a chance to sing several numbers. There is fun and music for all the family in this one. (Monogram)

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PARADE

EVER HIGHER AND HIGHER soared the U. S. divorce rate. . . . Impermanence threatened more and more to become the chief characteristic of U. S. marriage. . . . Exceeding in shattering power the smashed atoms, smashed homes were exploding all over the land, shooting out a destructive social force that threatened human society. . . . Pretexts for destroying family life were varied. . . . Condescension atomized one home. . . . A Hollywood actress felt her husband was being rather condescending to her friends. Out went the husband on his ear via divorce. . . . Chicken coops blew up a Maine home. . . . Husband and wife developed divergent viewpoints with regard to the coops. The wedge begun by the coops was widened by a divorce court. . . . Free speech anent a wife's hat, laugh and father wrecked a Los Angeles home. The protesting wife stated in court: "He said my hat was a silly thing. If I laughed, he said I cackled like a hen. His disparaging remarks included my father." That was enough. The judge who married the pair divorced them. . . . The Midwestern wife of a circus operator filed suit for divorce, revealed she was willing to settle for three elephants, an elephant truck, a horse and custody of their twin sons. She disclosed she would remain with the big top and the animals; not with her husband. . . . The quick ending marriage was developed, married life that lasted five minutes being reported from Oklahoma. In filing his petition to the court, the young bridegroom stated that five minutes after he wed his bride, a soldier called her on the telephone. After listening to the soldier she decided she loved him more than her five-minute hubby.

Easy divorce begot a nonchalant, fat-headed attitude toward matrimony; the attitude adopted by swine toward pearls. . . . In Colorado, a man who had previously obtained a marriage license, returned to the license bureau, inquired: "If I want to marry another woman, do I have to go through all this business of license, blood test and so on again?" Informed that he did, the man reflected briefly, then said: "Well, I guess I'll marry this one." . . . In Connecticut, two young women who never would have known each other if they had not married the same man, met and became friends. The young women met in court whither each had gone for the same purpose—to obtain an annulment of marriage with Joseph Leo Antun. Each young woman has a son named Joseph Leo Antun, Jr. . . . Not a few divorce-court judges expressed concern over the situation. . . . Commenting on a divorce increase of thirty-three per cent since 1940 in one Massachusetts county, a New England jurist put "marriage in the hit-and-run category. Frequently now we have cases in which it is admitted that the couple saw each other only once, twice or three times before they were married." . . . Like Prohibition, divorce spawns widespread corruption. . . . "The arranged situation, fictitious raids and perjury" are commented on by a New York Supreme Court judge, who states that the "great number of uncontested divorce cases" gives rise to the feeling that "they are frequently based on perjury." . . . Who or what is responsible? . . . Women working outside the home, maintained a New Jersey judge. . . . Higher wages, answered a Midwest jurist. . . . Childless marriages, responds still another member of the bench. . . . Whatever the proximate cause or causes, the ultimate cause of the mounting divorce rate is human nature with its tendency to evil. . . . Divorce is a deadly threat to the nation. . . . There is a solution for it. . . . The solution lies in a return of the American people to Christianity.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

MOST OF MY ART REPORTS have been based on exhibitions at museums and dealers' galleries. In visiting these places I have become accustomed to accept, somewhat unhappily, the fact of a basic sameness in the exhibition material. This, even when accompanied by unquestioned artistic and technical skill, in part is the result of New York influence, an influence detrimental to the esthetic and indigenous quality of American art. Being on one of my periodic trips through the Middle-West, I re-visited an artist whom I have known for many years and the healthier artistic atmosphere of his studio and method of work re-inforced my opinion of the superficial qualities of the dealer-inspired, European-derived art which is usual in New York, whence it spreads throughout the country.

This artist is Alfonso Iannelli and his command of artistic media is shown in such diverse work as sculpture, mural painting, architecture, decoration, glass and industrial design. So varied is his work that one must look to the earlier period of Italian art for a parallel in range of talent. Craftsmanship was more of an allied element in art production then and specialization in one medium was comparatively rare. Like others among his artistic and native forebears, he reveals his ability most completely in one of the media he employs, that of sculpture. What is interesting, moreover, is the manner in which work in various media reinforces and invigorates the element of design in his sculpture.

The mastery of various media has also influenced this Chicago artist's feeling for the relationship of his art to architecture. His ability in this direction is only one of his distinctive attributes. A sense of *relationship* is not usual among American artists; in fact, instances of it among men of a distinctive talent, comparable to Mr. Iannelli's are practically unknown. Most artistic talent, therefore, is employed in producing work detached from the activities of life; it is at once unrelated and, in part, irrelevant. The acme of attainment for such artists is to have their work included in the collection of some museum. Art deserves a better fate than that. It must become common to life or it will remain what it is now, either esoteric or effete. Effete, because such art faces no problems other than that of contriving a composition within the confines of a picture frame, if one takes the case of painting only. This imposes an artificial and unnatural limitation and there is little external stimulus toward freshness of art pattern. It is the desperate effort to escape the effete-ness that has contributed much to the existence of esoteric art movements.

Mr. Iannelli has chosen the better way and has accepted the challenge inherent in the stimulating difficulties of relating his art to architecture. This has increased its scope and gives it an architectonic expressiveness. His sculpture on the Immaculata, in Chicago; his glass in St. Patrick's Church in Racine, and in the Church of Christ the King, in Tulsa; his painted altar piece in St. Patrick's Church, Moline, are but a few instances of this. And I have only mentioned some of his work in the religious field; what he has executed for secular uses rivals it in extent and quality. In him is found the sensitiveness to form and expression typical of the best of pre-Renaissance art. This sensitiveness, however, has found a new rendering in individual and contemporary forms. His art is happily the antithesis of gallery, or museum, art and, like Eric Gill, he has brought to it the integrity and dignity of a workman. It is an art for use and enriches the buildings on which it is placed as well as the everyday life it serenely confronts from portals, window embrasures and the sacred enclosure of sanctuaries.

BARRY BYRNE

'TEEN-AGERS

EDITOR: At the beginning, let me warn you that this letter will be highly indignant but constructive criticism. I must confess that the article entitled *Let's Do Less for Youth*, by G. Howland Shaw in the September 22 issue of AMERICA made me furious. Just for the record let me state that I am not a "condescending and essentially negative adult" who can't understand the 'teen-age youngster of today, but a twenty-one-year-old Catholic girl who spent twelve years in a Catholic school and who is now a senior at the University of Cincinnati. I am keenly interested in psychology and philosophy, and for this reason I am interested in the subject with which this article deals. I am not a bespectacled bookworm either, but a normal American co-ed who likes to dance and go to parties and appreciates "T" Dorsey but who "swoons" over no one. So with these credentials, I should like to tell you what a college senior thinks of Mr. Shaw's statements.

First of all, Mr. Shaw is entirely wrong in assuming that the radicalism of adolescent youth today—the late hours, cellar-clubs, zoot-suits and bobby socks—are so many manifestations of the desire for independence. On the contrary, it is really evidence that youngsters are becoming more and more dependent upon, not good, wholesome, cultural influences such as should be provided in their homes, but upon the immature mob psychology of each other. If each bobbysockser developed, individually, her own form of radicalism, I could more easily agree with Mr. Shaw, but since they are almost all carbon copies of each other I don't see how he can call the current trend "a sign of progress toward individuation."

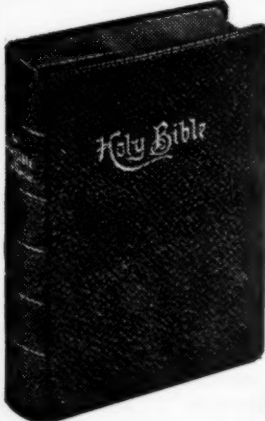
I cannot agree, either, with Mr. Shaw's belief that cellar-rooms "crudely and, to us adults, hideously furnished with chairs and tables made and painted—or at least provided—by the boys and with pictures cut out of magazines and pasted on the walls, are more appealing" and by inference more suitable as meeting places than "a handsome building given and equipped by outsiders." If crude and ugly surroundings are approved as a substitute for well designed buildings and pin-up pictures are substituted for reputable art, where are these impressionable young men to develop an appreciation and a taste for the finer things? If the arts and sciences are to make the proper impression and become a part of the future lives of these 'teen-agers, then these things must not be divorced from the normal daily contacts of these embryo adults; they must not be cast aside when the school bell rings, in favor of dank cellars, decorated with "pin-ups" from cheap magazines, and the right sort of discipline should be brought to bear to see that it is done.

I know that these views are not those of the "bobbysockser" of today; but the normal discipline of the home ought to be brought into popularity again. I agree with Mr. Shaw that less money should be spent on buildings, organizations and formal programs for adolescents; but suggest that it be spent in bringing people back to an understanding of fundamental right and wrong through planned propaganda in the right direction.

I realize that too much discipline, like too much laxity, is bad. Too much discipline stifles originality, creativeness and initiative but over-indulgence and lack of normal parental supervision is food for radicalism, degeneracy and general decay. Common sense and the Ten Commandments are still the best rules to follow.

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THE WORD

The Gospel record tells us of only three people whom our Lord raised from the dead: the son of the widow of Naim, the daughter of Jairus, and Lazarus of Bethany, brother of Martha and Mary.

The three cases seem to have a common note; in each of them our Lord uses His supreme power over life and death to restore a family unity which had been broken by the death of a son, a daughter, a brother.

I have always had the fancy—perhaps it is not entirely a fancy—that these three stupendous deeds were done by our Lord as a form of human reparation, so to speak, for the massacre of the Innocents. He had Himself been the occasion of that horrid crime. And He could never forget the sound of "Rachel weeping for her children. . . ." (Matt. 2:18).

At all events, we know that all His life the sight of a family mourning the loss of a dear one touched Him to the quick. We read that He sighed, and was distressed, and wept at the tomb of Lazarus (John 11:34, 36). He loved Lazarus, and Martha and Mary, his sisters. It was not only that He loved them as individuals; He loved the love between them. He loved their unity as a family. So, too, He loved the love between the widow of Naim and her son, and between Jairus and his daughter. He loves, indeed, the love between all the members of the human family. But His Heart has a special tenderness for the unity created by the human love between husband and wife and children. Death would strike at this love. Three times our Lord so felt the blow in His own Heart that He banished its suffering by a miracle, and mended the rent texture of a family life.

He does not always do so. Family life and family love are still rent by death. And no miracle restores the warm, human presence that made part of a family unity.

Nevertheless, whenever death visits a Christian family, the power of God still operates, if not a miracle, yet a marvelous thing. In His Wisdom, God knows that the human heart cannot nourish its loves on memories alone. Memory gives us only the past, and God would not have us live in the past. Moreover, the void left by death is in the present, and memory is powerless wholly to fill it. Human love would have its beloved, here and now. And here is the wonder that God works, repeatedly.

He keeps within the family unity the living presence that helped make it a unity. The life of the loved one is indeed, as the Preface of the Requiem Mass says, "changed," but "not taken away." The form of presence is indeed different, not to be seized by eye or hand; but the loved one is still *there*, in the present.

This is the grace of Christ. Grace—what is it but eternal life? And eternal life—is not part of it the possession of those we love? And this possession—is it not of the present, as eternal life is a gift that we have here and now? All those who are in the grace of Christ are "present" to one another, as God is present in them. We do not seek only in memory, or only in the past, those whom we seem to have lost. We find them, and have them, at each present moment, in God.

Our senses do not indeed reveal their presence. Our eyes see a vacancy, and our hands clutch at emptiness. But our faith lays hold of them. It will not let them, or the joy of their love, go from us. "No need to fear; thou hast only to believe" (Mark 5:36). Our Lord said this to Jairus; He meant it for every Christian heart upon which the fear of loss set a cold hand. Faith casts out this fear; for it assures us that those who are with God are in communion with us.

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